

594 be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of
869 relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realizing their meaning. The hope of both
[847] parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as
[586] much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

163 At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella
[165] Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are
• 593 several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

592 If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife,
556 and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and
[595] powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife,
[602] look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella
[888] Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.²²

[178] ²²This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and degraded, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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as far as incest rules are concerned. In this particular instance the woman did not show any interest in her new relatives, failed to visit them, or to take part in their ceremonies, so that the adoption, though still legal, has practically lapsed. When this man dies his children will not consider the claims of their father's "sister" to inherit any of his possessions, as they would have done if she had showed herself appreciative of her adoption. 597 [428]

It will thus be seen that the size and composition of the family vary according to the wealth and influence of the father. The duties of the members are difficult to define since they concern almost entirely the routine of life. The father, head of the family, directs the gathering of firewood, repair of the house, obtaining of food supplies, and other matters of the same sort. If he gives a potlatch his children must help him, which they do willingly since they gain from the ceremony. If a father is too autocratic, his older, especially his married children, simply move away. Nor is his power over his younger children unbounded, since their mother's relatives take great interest in their welfare and would resent any ill-treatment. 592 [431] [602]

If a person is killed or wounded, revenge is the affair of his family. Just how many individuals are involved depends on the composition of the family. In the case of the killing of a child, living with his parents alone, none but the father would feel it incumbent to retaliate. If an adult person is murdered, his or her brothers feel and avenge the insult. But should an important member of the community be slain, an old man surrounded by a numerous family, it is the affair of all. Every effort is made to slay the murderer, but if he should escape from the country, the injured group is satisfied by killing one of his family. Here again the same inexact composition is found. A man's son, brother, or father are the only persons strictly liable, and even here the common sense of the Bella Coola outweighs their theoretical laws. A murderer's brother, living in another village, would not be held liable; but more distant relatives living with the offender and considered as his family are liable. 593 627 682 [671]

- 593 family are liable. It is very rare for a woman to be killed in
 627 a blood feud. A death is answered by a death; if two persons
 682 should be slain for one murder the family which has suffered
 562 the double loss endeavours to kill another of their enemies. In
 683 case of wounding, an effort is made to wound the offender, but
 if he should be killed his family would try to avenge him.
 More often, one of the offender's family takes the initiative of
 offering goods to the injured family, "to cure the wound." If
 the offer is accepted, and the goods delivered properly, the
 matter is at an end. If a murder be committed within the
 ranks of the immediate family, for instance, if a brother kill
 a brother, revenge, if exacted, must be meted out to the actual
 622 offender. If requested to do so, the leading chief of a village
 may offer his advice, but it is always considered that revenge
 concerns only the immediate family.

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 Revenge is a topic which shows clearly the essential fluidity
 of the family. There are no well-defined degrees of relation-
 ship within which responsibility rests. Instead, everyone
 knows, in the open life of the community, how many persons
 share the family life of the individual, and they alone are held
 to account, or they alone demand compensation. From its
 very nature, the family must be a bilateral unit which, when
 powerful, stretches out to absorb members of the ancestral
 families of both mother and father.

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 Not only does the family thus appear constantly to be
 attracting to itself members of the ancestral family of either
 parent, but these relatives themselves are deeply interested in
 the affairs of the family. This is most clearly shown in the
 case of children who, of course, are members of the ancestral
 family of both their mother and father. A few days after
 birth some relative is expected to call together the people of
 the village where the child is born for the bestowal and valida-
 tion of an ancestral name. It is considered an evidence of
 poverty if this is done by the father, as if his child were only
 supported by his parents, not by a larger circle of relatives.
 It is immaterial whether this gathering be called by a relative

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of the father or the mother. In June, 1921, a Bella Coola girl had reached the age of about six months without having received a name. There was much adverse criticism about the parsimony of her father's father and her mother's father, who were held equally to blame, but who had really been deterred by fear of the law prohibiting the potlatch.

As a child grows older he is helped in the performance of ceremonial rites by his parents and by their brothers and sisters. In this, too, it is considered a mark of poverty if only the parents take part. If a man's own children do not appear likely to carry on the traditions of his ancestral family, he has no hesitation in favouring the children of either a brother or sister, since, like his own, they are all members of the same ancestral family. Especially in Kimsquit it is customary for a man to help his sisters' children; not that there is any lack of knowledge of the real father, but rather as a mark of respect and family feeling displayed by a man to his sister. Moreover, in both Bella Coola proper and in Kimsquit, it is most improper for a name which a man has raised to a position of dignity by the expenditure of much goods to be passed to his own son; it should go to a distant relative. When a father validates a name for his child it should be one long dormant.

One aspect of the manner in which the family merges imperceptibly into the ancestral family can be seen in the inheritance of names. When a man calls his relatives together to make his will he is guided in the choice of recipients by the characteristics of his children. An able son receives much from his father, but lazy children are slighted without hesitation. This is particularly true of names with which are bound up valuable dance prerogatives, whereas, as previously mentioned, ancestral names of which the importance depends

*According to an intelligent Bella Coola informant, a Bella Bella pays greater attention to the children of his brothers and sisters than to his own offspring, and the same man expressed the opinion that the Kimsquit practice was due to Bella Bella influence. Kimsquit informants denied this, though emphasizing the important part taken by an uncle in obtaining prerogatives for his sisters' children, in some cases to the detriment of his own, which is rare in Bella Coola.

- 593 on the value of the goods distributed in connection with them,
 614 usually revert to the ancestral family and can be revived by
 553 any member of it. It seems needless to publish lengthy pedi-
 428 grees, illustrating the transmission of ancestral names; it will
 suffice to say that such sometimes pass from father to son,
 from a man to his brother's son, his sister's son, his sister, his
 daughter, or to other relatives belonging to the immediate
 family. On the other hand, with equal frequency, names pass
 from a man to distant relatives of the same ancestral family.

59 Thus the Bella Coola family, important though it is in the
 life of the individual, cannot be defined with exactitude either
 as regards composition or functions; it varies according to the
 importance of its head, and tends to merge in the ancestral
 families of the parents.

KINSHIP TERMS

601 In Bella Coola, as in so many parts of the world, kinship
 terms mirror the social life of the community. The Bella
 Coola system of nomenclature is not as clear-cut in its appli-
 cation as in other regions, and requires considerable explan-
 ation concerning the uses of many of the terms. It will be
 seen that the system, although fundamentally founded on the
 family, presents many classificatory features. Whether or not
 these are to be ascribed to an ancient clan system is most
 doubtful; a short discussion of that point will be found at the
 end of this section.

The terms are arranged in the following order: first, an
 individual's relatives of the preceding generation, then those
 of the next preceding, with their parents, then those of the
 present generation, followed by terms for kin of the generations
 following. Finally come relations by marriage.

TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father.....	AMAM	AMAM
	This term is properly used only by a small child, though often continued by an adult as a term of endearment.	Term used only by a small child.

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BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

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thus boast that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.*

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

*The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

BIRTH, ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE

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old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives; but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *susok* names can never be transferred in this manner.

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a

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593 slave, and this is believed to have occurred on one occasion
567 to the daughter of a chief.

432 Once, many hundred years ago, the daughter of a Bella Coola chief
448 was married to the son of Tawlerwan, a Bella Bella chief, living at Gagey. At the marriage, in Bella Coola, valuable presents were given by both families, and the girl went to live in Bella Bella with her husband. Some ten years later, Tawlerwan gave a large potlatch to which he had invited guests from all parts of the coast. As in duty bound, his daughter-in-law's relatives gave a certain amount of goods to rebuy her. They were not wealthy, so that the contribution was of small value. Tawlerwan had expected a larger present, and now found himself unable even to repay his debts to those who had assembled. He did not immediately show his resentment, but soon afterwards sold his daughter-in-law as slave to a Kitkatla chief. The Bella Coola were justly indignant, but could not make up their minds what to do in such an unprecedented case. The girl ultimately escaped and made her way home after lengthy wanderings (II, p. 305).

837 A husband demands faithfulness on the part of his wife, though he himself is often rather lax. Illicit intercourse is regarded, not as a deadly sin, but as an infringement of the husband's prerogatives. But if a woman should bear a child at a time when it was impossible for the husband to have been the father, due to absence, he would probably accept it as his own and do no more than administer a beating, though some jealous men would divorce a wife for this. Bella Coola sentiment on such matters varies with the individual; it is universally considered to be a matter that concerns the husband alone and he can do as he thinks fit. The daughters of chiefs are usually faithful to their husbands, whereas those of poorer persons, unrestrained by the valuables expended at their marriages, are more lax. If the husband should catch an adulterer, he can, if bold, slay him on the spot and the exaction of blood revenge would be uncalled for. Usually a fight ends the matter, though the offender's family may give presents to the aggrieved husband, and his wife's relatives may also make donations to atone for their daughter's failings. A husband does not share his wife with anyone, and a question as to the lending of a wife

[The Dance of Noakxnim]

WINTER CEREMONIAL DANCES

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of his relatives, has given them for this purpose. When he crouches during the chorus they crowd close around, almost concealing him. Particularly in those dances fraught with danger to the performer, it is customary for any number of his friends, either men or women, to dance to "help" him. Any one wishing to do so merely stands up and begins, in time to the music, irrespective of what part of the house he may be in. It is considered contrary to good manners for a father so to help his son, or a brother a brother, but a dancer is pleased to have aid from anyone else. It is said that in Bella Bella certain *kakusiat* have definite prerogatives of helping in this way, but this is not the case in Bella Coola. Throughout every dance the *kakusiat* women utter their droning cry. 575* 796* 535 [593] • [171] [533]

This, then, is the type of dance which the uninitiated in the lowest house see. They hear the song, too, and gaze with awe at X, imbued as he is with the supernatural power of sight. Then the sounding-boards are picked up and taken to the next house, where the whole ceremonial is repeated. This is done at each house of the village.¹² All the *kakusiat* now return to X's house, where he once more dances to his song. A box-drum is always used to help the singers in keeping time, and when the song has been finished two men continue in turn to beat it all day. X always arranges to have a relative or friend superintend the distribution of food, which follows his final dancing. As the *kakusiat* are eating, the marshals deliver their usual admonishments, a task that accompanies every meal. Then they call on the people to erect a raised platform between the fire and the back-wall of the house. Materials have been placed in readiness so that it is an easy matter to build a framework a few feet in height, of which the flat top is screened by a matting wall about three feet high. This is often decorated with designs of dyed cedar-bark without ritual significance as far as the Bella Coola of today are aware. X climbs to this platform, the *kakusiat* disperse, and only the incessant pounding of the drum proves that some unusual event is taking place. 575* 796* [534] [574] [531]

¹²In Bella Coola, but perhaps not in Kimsquit.

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